MOKO

A Serious Review

No 9

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WI STUDENTS RIOT: JOE JAGAN HELD IN CANADA

AG OFF TO HELP THE JAILED STUDENTS

LEGAL AID FOR RIOT STUDENTS

AG flies off today

STUDENTS RIOT IN CANADA

11 Trinidadians, Jagan's son in arrested group

More arrests feared; searches by security men

Black writers conference blamed for varsity riot

UNIVERSITY WITCH HUNT REPORTED

SYMBOLS

Militarism Latin American Style?

By LLOYD KING

From a report some time ago in a Peruvian newspaper it would appear that the Trinidad and Tobago Defence Force is seeking to find its place within the Latin American conception of what the role of the military should be. The newspaper in question indicated the presence of Trinidad representatives at a meeting of military chiefs held in Peru to discuss the containment of Communism in Latin America. One wonders what kinds of exchanges and contacts are being set up between our local forces and the belligerent tradition south of ourselves and one wonders too what is this tradition.

Recent trends in the Latin American military tradition are, to say the least, enlightening. In the last eleven years there have been thirteen military takeovers in various Latin American countries. Recent outstanding examples include Argentina, Brazil and Peru. In fact the "gorillas" as they are called in Latin America concern themselves much more with the internal conditions of their country than with questions of defence against external aggressors.

Whereas in the United States of America the military is bound up with the organization of the warfare state in peacetime thereby providing the employment and the profits which the capitalist system demands in Latin America other rationalisations have been found for the alrge sums expended on the military. The claim has been of another sort, namely that Latin American armies represent the only consistently cohesive patriotic force in the midst of warring political factions and sectional interests.

The military apologists point out that the Army contributes far more to the country as technocrats thain the city orators do, and indeed, within the context of a weakly organized educational system, the Army has for years seen to the building of roads and railways, and the establishment of telecommunications.

Army chiefs believe that an important part of their function as nationalists is to defend current institutions, particularly against communists, and often against advocates of change who are conveniently identified as such.

Good Faith

It is by no means easy though to anticipate how the nationalist orientation of the military will operate We may take the case of Brazil. Here Castelo Branco, a pro American right-wing army marshall took over the government in 1964 on the presumed suspicion of a planned communist takeover.

Presumably also in good faith Castelo Branco decreed firm measures to check rampant inflation but unfortunately, apart from the fact that the poor suffered all the more, the high borrowing rates enforced proved to be gravely detrimental to Brazilian industrialists while U.S. companies with external capital found themselves in a position to dominate commercial and industrial activity. The result of this was a reaction which resulted in the substitution of Arturo Costa e Silva for Branco.

Moreover, to the consternation of the Army, they have been discovering that their nationalistic fervor has by no means persuaded civilians that Army democracy is best. So that they are now establishing for the books a new kind of crime, treason against the army.

Problems

In Peru, Army nationalism has also been providing problems for the United States. The recently deposed government of Belaunde Terry had been claiming a searadius of two hundred miles out into the Pacific as being subject to national jurisdiction and were arresting and fining the crews of American fishing fleets found within this radius, Ecuador and Brazil are said to be contemplating the same sort of action.

The new military regime in Peru has also acted against an oil company, confiscating its property. The curious story behind this is that the company concerned the IPC is registered as a Canadian Company, but it is openly known that it is an example of yet another Canadian front for American investment. Can the American government therefore intervene? The American government is already

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Welcome Mr. Michener

After ten months of struggle within the legal framework of the university, twelve days of occupation and a few hours of violent confrontation between riot police and students, 95 persons – black and white, students and non-students – have ended up in the prison cells of Montreal, Canada, and they are faced with charges that could bring up to life imprisonment. But to know just that and nothing more is not sufficient Nor is it sufficient to know just the facts of what has become known as the "Sir George Williams affair." To be able to understand what the "Sir George Williams affair" means and signifies in the context of North American society we have to analyse not only the "affair", but much more.

First, we must ask: what do we know? The mass media in our society have given us only the sensational headlines: students riot at Sir George Williams – $2 million computer damage – Joe Jagan among rioting students – 95 students arrested without bail, and so on. Has there been any attempt, to give the facts of the case? None. Has there been any attempt to analyse the situation? None. Has there been any attempt to give the background of the case from April 1968 to the present? None. It was only when students from Montreal arrived in Trinidad and the students Council at the U.W.I., St. Augustine took the initiative in informing the public that the population got some idea of the facts. And up to press time, we are yet to see a full statement of the facts in any of our daily papers.

By J.L. Mc. HENRY

Briefly, here are the basic facts.

Since 1964 the Black students at Sir George Williams University have been subjected to racial exploitation in the marking of their examination papers and project papers, particularly in the science faculty. But as with every social phenomenon, the people involved, took time to become conscious and aware of themselves and their relations with the community in which they live and work. It was not until April 1968 that a group of Black students charged Prof. Perry Anderson of the Biology department with racism. The black students had concrete evidence of the racist attitude of Prof. Anderson. One such item of evidence arose out of the preparation by a black student of a project paper which he later submitted to Prof. Anderson for marking. Prof. Anderson gave the Black student four out of ten for the paper. A white student copied the Black student's paper "word for word, comma for comma, full-stop for full-stop" and he, the white student, was given nine out of ten by the same Prof. Anderson.

Grievances

The Black students tried every established legal channel to get their grievances heard and investigated. They wrote letters to the administration, held meetings with officials of the administration, put forward demands and proposals. Nothing happened. Instead of taking action to investigate the Black students' case in a manner agreeable to all parties, the administration held private meetings to prepare for the "inevitable" violence of the Black students and mounted a snear campaign on press and radio to woo public opinion against the Black students. The students then decided to force the white administration to act. A series of events took place in quick succession leading up to the occupation of the computing centre.

During the whole episode the administration was shown by its own actions to be racist. Lies, blackmail, threats of expulsion, deportation, legal proceedings etc. – these were the tactics of the racist administration. After exhausting all the established channels of university procedures to get their case investigated, the Black students decided to occupy the computing centre, the nerve centre of the university, in order to strengthen their bargaining power.

The computing centre was occupied for twelve days by some 300 students in a space designed to hold 75. During those twelve days the students established such a system of government in the computing centre that even the acting principal (the principal had resigned over the issue) had, to make a statement saying that never before had such care been taken of the computers.

There were committees organised for food, security, sanitation, publicity etc. One important aspect of the occupation was that the Black students obtained the sympathy of thousands of white students who joined the occupation movement and themselves occupied other parts of the university. Also, for the first time, the Black community in Montreal was united in a manner and with a militancy never seen or experienced before. Then came the well publicized event - the $2 million damage.

How and why did this damage take place?

On Feb. 11 the students were all getting ready to vacate the computing centre. Over 200 students had already left. The others were clearing up the rooms. The administration had finally (or so the students thought) agreed to the students' demands for setting-up an investigation committee agreeable to all parties in the dispute. The Black students had signed the agreement. They were only waiting on the administration to sign. To their amazement, instead of signing the agreement the administration called in the riot squad to evict the students. It was then and only then that damage was done to the computers.

Who did the Damage?

The riot squad forced its way through the door to the computing room and the battle began. Who, did the damage? We here in Trinidad cannot say. But we can, at least, discuss the possibilities.

The first possibility is that the police in their frenzied baton-swinging (a phenomenon well known to anyone who saw and experienced the St Jean Baptiste day events in

Cont'd on Page Four

MOKO

AIR WHO?

The main reason for the discussion about air transport among Commonwealth Caribbean countries is the existence of the tourist industry in the region. Other underdeveloped countries may need national airlines for prestige purposes. It is my contention that we in the West Indies need an air transport industry for straight economic reasons. Tourism today constitutes 25% of all trade between countries. It is highly labour intensive and the level of imports which it requires is very much lower than the "screw driver" industries which have set up in the region in the last few years.

Yet it is only recently that this kind of trade (and I call it trade because every unit of foreign currency spent in the West Indies is the equivalent of a unit of export and this represents some gain in terms of foreign exchange to the countries of the West Indies) has begun to be developed between developed countries and underdeveloped countries. Tourism as an industry really got off the ground as a result of North Americans travelling to Europe. The tourist industry therefore started as trade between two developed countries or rather two sets of developed countries. Only in the last 10 years or so has the under-developed world, and in particular the Caribbean, been able to develop this industry and gain foreign exchange and employment for themselves.

Without air transport, the international tourist industry would not exist. The same is true of the opposite proposition. The major international airlines control almost completely the structure, direction, and growth of the industry. If the giants refuse to call at your island you can call your tourist industry, George. In order that the Caribbean can control its tourist industry, so that it serves Caribbean and not metropolitan interests, we must own one of these giants.

As usual, the limited horizons that we have given ourselves for most of our history will lead us to dismiss this idea as that belonging to a mad university professor. And looking at the way the Governments have been setting about the problem I am moved to agree. If this article helps to lift our blinkers a little, it would have done its job.

First of all, my rough estimate would place the market for air transport presently available to all the Commonwealth Caribbean islands combined to be at least $100 million. At a conservative estimated rate of growth of 10% per year, which is not outstanding in the industry, this figure will double every seven years. This is the vision which would be possible if there were different leadership in the Commonwealth Caribbean today

How is this vision possible? Let's look at the facts.

THE BACK GROUND

The first thing we must understand about the air transport industry in the Western World and therefore in the Caribbean is that its market is carved up in a certain precise way. Unlike sea transport where a ship registered in any country in the world can come and pick up goods from Jamaica, say, and take it to any other country, the international air transport industry is operated on highly regulated principles. The air traffic between every pair of nations is the monopoly of the airlines of those two nations and is usually shared on a fifty-fifty basis between those two states. I will give some examples in the Caribbean to illustrate this "bilateral principle", as it is called in the industry.

BWIA as a Trinidad & Tobago airline, which it is despite its advertising claims to be "the airline of the Caribbean" has no automatic rights to traffic between Jamaica and the U.S.A. because it is neither a Jamaican nor a U.S. Airline. It has in theory, to bargain with both Jamaican and the U.S. for getting access to this traffic. Similarly, Air Jamaica, as a Jamaican airline, has no rights to traffic between Trinidad and the U.S.A. In practice, what happens is a bargain is struck between each pair of nations in-

Cont'd on page 4

The author of this article is Steve De Castro a lecturer in the Department of Economics, U.W.I., Mona, and author of the publication "Problems of the Caribbean Air Transport Industry" He is at present on a one-year assignment as an economic consultant to the Industrial Development Corporation in Trinidad. The views expressed in this article are his own and do not in any way represent those of either of the institutions to which he is attached.

CHESS

BY "OTTO"

In this issue MOKO introduces a chess column. It shall be a regular feature and shall appear every fortnight.

The case for chess is simple. It rests pre-eminently on the fact that chess, above all games, possesses the richest possibilities for imaginative, intelligent, creative endeavour on the part of those who play it. The game developed thousands of years ago in the East, probably in India. Today it is a major international sport with a wide and popular appeal. In some countries, as in Russia and in the countries of Eastern Europe, it is even a spectator sport with people often taking the part of pieces at village pageants and other festivals. In the Western countries the game is not as popular or as well organized yet it nevertheless commands an impressive following.

Chess is also rich in scientific tradition. By this is meant that chess, both as a game and as an art, has attained a very high level of development. There is now a vast and stimulating literature which facilitates the study of the game in all its manifold variations. It is a game, too, absolutelv subservient to the whims of the player. The equipment is negligible as our accompanying diagram shows. All that is required is a squared board with sixty-four white and black squares (a draught board), and thirty-two pieces or men. It is not a game for eggheads, intellectuals or any other exclusive tribe though they too may play it. It can be played as the mood dictates in absolute, solemn privacy, in the pulsating tension-laden atmosphere of the contest arena, in the carefree surroundings of the rumshop, or, as already indicated, on a suitably arranged concrete walk or savannah if one wishes to be elaborate or festive.

There are other attractions. The game forces the individual inescapably back on his own resources, which makes it a very political game indeed. Chess virtually eliminates luck and chance; the shot in the dark hardly ever pays. The right to move first, traditionally accorded to the white pieces, may bestow now and again a fractional advantage. Careless players may blunder their pieces away. But one can hardly survive as a chess player on those chance occurrences. The hazards in chess are hazards of intellect,not of good or bad fortune. In chess, fortune is what you make it.

Another attraction, a very important attraction for MOKO, is that the language is excessively political. In the world of today *kings, queens, bishops. knights* and *castles (rooks)* may seem like anachronisms; but they survive in chess as they still survive in our every day world. *Pawns* have been the essence of our heritage; we have been *pawns* for centuries.

Development is material to the good game of chess as it is material to the exercise of political. And, as in politics, there can be good development, bad development, underdevelopment, pseudo-development and no development at all. Also there are notions like *stalemate* and *checkmate*: utter frustration and utter humiliation, concepts that we know only too well. Finally, there is an indescribably lovely German word *zugzwang*. It describes a state of compulsion in which the mover, though having several choices at his disposal, gradually discovers that each and every one of them leads to his own destruction: a delightful idea to which we shall return again and again.

There will be ups and downs but the essence of chess is the creation of newer and richer possibilities on the ruins of old disasters. We should learn a lot from the game. In the process we should also produce a West Indian chess champion. He is probably not yet born. Chess is that kind of game. It will not be enough to be a prodigy or even to behave like one, though we are sure that we will have prodigies. But there have been many more prodigies than there have been world champions. What we want is a world champion. We hope to make one perhaps out of prodigies, but also perhaps out of quite ordinary people too. It will take time; and that, too, is politics.

We hope to contribute to the development and enrichment of the game locally. There is a lot of activity but very little conscious direction of effort. We would like to help, and our columns are open to all those who would like to help too.

We have chosen the collective pseudonym "Otto". It has been chosen in memory of Otto Leonard who, at the time of his death on August 23, last year, was working on a chess publication for schools, which would have been the first of its kind. We hope that this publication and many more will one day materialize.

White Men		Black Men	
♔	1 King	♚	1 King
♕	1 Queen	♛	1 Queen
♗ ♗	2 Bishops	♗ ♗	2 Bishops
♘ ♘	2 Knights	♞ ♞	2 Knights
♖ ♖	2 Rooks	♜ ♜	2 Rooks
♙ ♙ ♙ ♙ ♙ ♙ ♙ ♙	8 Pawns	♟ ♟ ♟ ♟ ♟ ♟ ♟ ♟	8 Pawns

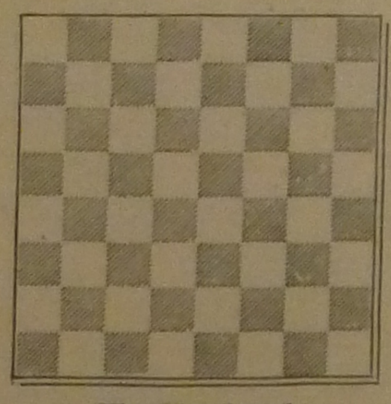

FIG. 1 The Chessboard

Chess is played between two opponents on a board with 64 squares. Every square may be used. The board has 32 light and 32 dark squares. These are always referred to as *white* and *black* squares.

The board must be placed so that each player has a *white* square at the right hand corner nearest to him. (See pointer above.) This is important. You cannot play chess with the board turned round the wrong way.

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MOKOJU

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MOKOJUMBIE

There is more than a little irony in the fact that at the same time some of the West Indian territories are laying the red carpet for Mr. Roland Michener, Governor General of Canada, we should be contemplating the aftermath and the consequences of the Sir George Williams affair. For his visit, at this particular time, highlights the historical unreality of our relationships with Canada. When all is said and done the real consequence of the Sir George William episode is that it has helped to put that relationship in its place. Canada, so far regarded as the treasured fostermother of these impecunious territories, is now to be bracketed with her peers the U.K. and the U.S.A., and Mr. Michener should be made to realize that before he leaves.

Equally important is the fact that the recent events in Canada have brought into sharp focus a complicated set of issues relating to the circumstances of West Indians living abroad and also their relations with the societies they leave behind, very often for good.

One of the more important of these issues is related to the view held by Dr. Leslie Lord, and no doubt by many others, that West Indians abroad should first and foremost know how to behave themselves. They should learn to suffer in silence whatever fortune chooses to offer them. If they are students they should get on with their studies. And, presumably, as has often been said of West Indians in England, those who choose to live abroad should forget their curries for a while, learn how to cook without seasoning, and how to have parties without making a noise. In a word, they are in the "people's" country and they should learn to accept the "people's" way.

It is therefore useful to ask how the "people" behave in our country. Visits to the various foreign establishments around the West Indies should give the answer. The first clue is furnished by carefully observing how the "people" live, where they live and how they enjoy themselves. One can begin with the Texaco Senior Staff Club at Pointe a Pierre and come on down the line. Or one can look at the posh accommodation provided for Canadians and a sprinkling of locals at the Alcan installations at Mackenzie in Guyana. In fact Mr. Michener has just been there. It is possible though not very probable that he noticed the difference between the palatial residences in which his compatriots and a few locals (always a few locals) live , and the red, bauxite-begrimed structures inhabited by the workers at Wismar.

As for enjoyments, not only are the style and quality higher, but the costs are often much lower. At many of the poshest watering holes provided for foreigners it is cheaper to get drunk than at any rumshop you would care to mention. As for the hotels they thrive on emphasizing the difference between the "people" and us. As far as they are concerned they are enclaves of enjoyment, gentility and higher living in societies which by comparison are just so many ghettoes.

The fact of the matter is that in the West Indies the "people" do not live as we do any more than we should be expected to live as they do in their countries. What is really different is that they enter our societies on terms completely different from those on which we enter theirs. We enter at the bottom of their societies, or very near it; they enter at the top of ours. Having entered at the top their style of living remains a closed book to us because in any society the bottom half knows very little of what the top half is doing. The symbols are there right enough in the long cars and the big houses, but what is lacking is the knowledge and the awareness of the difference, moreso because the real ruling class in the West Indies is still white as invariably the foreigners are. Also, invariably, they belong to that very important opinion-making sector which tells us in a thousand subtle and un-subtle ways how we should behave and what values we should attach to those differences we may perceive between themselves and us. The irony is that invariably we react not by despising their way of life but our own.

The situation is starkly the reverse in the outer, white world. West Indians exist there increasingly on sufferance no matter how talented they are. It is not just politics that call wandering psychiatrists back home. As a recent United Nations Study on the "brain drain" discloses, talent is often not recognized in the receiving countries. There is very little migration between the under-developed world and of the hundreds of thousands of professionals migrating from the under-developed to the developed coun- tries since the Second World War very few have found themselves in positions in any sense worthy of their training and qualifications. Money is clearly an incentive, but it is not all. And even where West Indians and other blacks win professional recognition and reward these are often unaccompanied by that larger satisfaction which derives from a right relationship to the community in which one lives and works.

West Indians know what to expect in the United States of America and in the United Kingdom. So far though mesmerised by the politics of preferences and the continuing notion of 'union' with Canada, West Indians have been seeing that country as a haven for black people. The plight of the Canadian Indians, of the French Canadians and of the tens of thousands of black people living in Nova Scotia in conditions worse than those obtaining in Harlem or the southern states of America suggest that the realities are somewhat different. Now Sir George Williams has confounded all our idiocies. If racism is as strong an element in Canada as the events in Montreal suggest the situation can only get worse, the moreso because a black upsurge among the black people of Nova Scotia and the Canadian Indians cannot be far off. And if so, the options are closing for West Indians abroad.

All of this brings us right back home. It is interesting to compare the alacrity with which the Trinidad and Tobago Government has reponded to the news from Canada with its inaction at the time of the Rodney crisis. Clearly it hopes to avoid the repetition of past mistakes: in any case it has always been very good at sponsoring liberal causes abroad. Yet, the Attorney General seems to have lost his way and it may be that all will develop into an almighty gimmick reminiscent of the hurried visit to London when the Mirror was unceremoniously closed down. If so it will be well to point out that circumstances are now somewhat different from before.

Carnival was interesting this year above all because of the vast number of Trini- dadians who came trooping back. They feted, they ate and drank, they jumped like hell. They enjoyed themselves but that was not all they came for. Battered by the hostilities of the world outside they came for spiritual and moral refreshment too. They wanted to be home where they were sure it would be different. Having come they were not too sure it was, and that was significant.

No overseas postal voting here.

TRINIDA REVISIT

BY DA

Someone once said that the passage from slavery to freedom can be as charged with frustration and discontent as the passage from freedom to slavery. He could well have applied this theory to the colonial and post-colonial eras in which the islands of Trinidad and Tobago succumbed to the whimsical experiments of whimsical leaders.

When I left Trinidad seven years ago for the United States of America, the new power was in the process of righting the vehicle of domestic and international affairs which had been wrecked during the pre-PNM years either on the Scylla of corrup- tion and ineptitude or in the Charybdis of colonialism.

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...OKO JUMBIE

...a little irony in the fact that at the same time some of the ...re laying the red carpet for Mr. Roland Michener, Governor ...ould be contemplating the aftermath and the consequences of ...affair. For his visit, at this particular time, highlights the ...r relationships with Canada. When all is said and done the ...Sir George Willian episode is that it has helped to put that ...Canada, so far regarded as the treasured fostermother of these ...now to be bracketed with her peers the U.K. and the U.S.A., ...e made to realize that before he leaves.

...the fact that the recent events in Canada have brought into ...l set of issues relating to the circumstances of West Indians ...ir relations with the societies they leave behind, very often

...ortant of these issues is related to the view held by Dr. Leslie ...y others, that West Indians abroad should first and foremost ...nselves. They should learn to suffer in silence whatever ...m. If they are students they should get on with their studies. ...ten been said of West Indians in England, those who choose ...et their curries for a while, learn how to cook without ...parties without making a noise. In a word, they are in the ...ey should learn to accept the "people's" way.

...to ask how the "people" behave in our country. Visits to ...ments around the West Indies should give the answer. The ...efully observing how the "people" live, where they live and ... One can begin with the Texaco Senior Staff Club at ...down the line. Or one can look at the posh accommodation ...a sprinkling of locals at the Alcan installations at Mackenzie ...hener has just been there. It is possible though not very ...e difference between the palatial residences in which his ...(always a few locals) live , and the red, bauxite-begrimed ...rkers at Wismar.

...only are the style and quality higher, but the costs are ...of the poshest watering holes provided for foreigners it is ... any rumshop you would care to mention. As for the ...zing the difference between the "people" and us. As far ...re enclaves of enjoyment, gentility and higher living in ...are just so many ghettoes.

...that in the West Indies the "people" do not live as we ...e expected to live as they do in their countries. What is ...r our societies on terms completely different from those ... enter at the bottom of their societies, or very near it; ...Having entered at the top their style of living remains a ...y society the bottom half knows very little of what the ...s are there right enough in the long cars and the big ... knowledge and the awareness of the difference, moreso ...he West Indies is still white as invariably the foreigners ...ng to that very important opinion-making sector which ... un-subtle ways how we should behave and what values ...erences we may perceive between themselves and us. ... react not by despising their way of life but our own.

...reverse in the outer, white world. West Indians exist ...o matter how talented they are. It is not just politics ...back home. As a recent United Nations Study on the ...often not recognized in the receiving countries. There ... the under-developed world and of the hundreds of ...ing from the under-developed to the developed coun... very few have found themselves in positions in any ... qualifications. Money is clearly an incentive, but it is ...ians and other blacks win professional recognition and ...nied by that larger satisfaction which derives from a ...y in which one lives and works.

... expect in the United States of America and in the ... mesmerised by the politics of preferences and the ... Canada, West Indians have been seeing that country ...ght of the Canadian Indians, of the French Canadians ...ack people living in Nova Scotia in conditions worse ...or the southern states of America suggest that the ... Now Sir George Williams has confounded all our ...element in Canada as the events in Montreal suggest ...he moreso because a black upsurge among the black ...anadian Indians cannot be far off. And if so, the ... abroad.

...ack home. It is interesting to compare the alacrity ...bago Government has reponded to the news from ...e of the Rodney crisis. Clearly it hopes to avoid the ...y case it has always been very good at sponsoring ...orney General seems to have lost his way and it may ...mighty gimmick reminiscent of the hurried visit to ...eremoniously closed down. If so it will be well to ...w somewhat different from before.

...ear above all because of the vast number of Trini... they feted, they ate and drank, they jumped like hell. ...vas not all they came for. Battered by the hostilities ... spiritual and moral refreshment too. They wanted ... would be different. Having come they were not too

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TRINIDAD REVISITED

By DALTON JAMES Jr.

Someone once said that the passage from slavery to freedom can be as charged with frustration and discontent as the passage from freedom to slavery. He could well have applied this theory to the colonial and post-colonial eras in which the islands of Trinidad and Tobago succumbed to the whimsical experiments of whimsical leaders.

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Likewise, a picture of St. Joseph's Convent choir doing their thing at the music festival wouldn't look so bleached either. And after putting down the paper, you'd stumble into a white bank and discover a soul brother from "round de bridge" right out front with the rest of "them". Not wearing a khaki uniform with a black tie around a sweaty collar and large brown envelopes in hand ready at the master's bidding to errand the stuff for him. No. You'd see him with one of "their" white shirts, checking "their" money, and pride would light up your copper-coloured countenance.

Hope And Optimism

As you floated out of the tokenly integrated atmosphere, you'd amble further downtown only to notice that "they" still owned and ran the business trade. But suddenly you'd remember the magic words hope and optimism, and would march up to the milk-white country club, where, horror-struck, you'd be turned away because "they" still occupied it, like a last bastion of defence. Oh yes, that would have to be struck off the list too, you'd think. And so, you'd continue to think on and on, until your cranial blob couldn't program the garbage you fed it, and you'd wake up with a terrible nightmare seven years later only to find out that "they" were still in power, unchallenged. Good grief!

To say that over the years the people recognized, intrinsically, the bankruptcy of an adventure in which they invested so much faith, optimism, and emotion, is like scribing your friend abroad, exhorting him to come on down after his graduation, the nation is at ease and all is well in this land of racial harmony and opportunity. It just isn't the case.

Or the Caribbean would have experienced its first modern-day anarchy. For anarchy and nihilism are daughters of an oppressive society. One wonders then, about Cubanistic emotions, but the yearning, or yen, is absent.

Begging For Employment

Weekly mail to me portrayed a scene of nihilism. Of adolescent boys growing up begging for employment crumbs. Of a country enriched with manpower and oppression but lacking the ingredients of fair employment and expression. Of widespread migration. And muted dissent. Apathy. Fear. Old newspaper reflected similar conditions, however smokescreened with sociological and political verbiage. Nevertheless, the message that Sisyphus was still a frustrated man in his Dante-like hell, like pregnancy, couldn't be denied. Frustration was his lot and always will be. Naturally, in a society that chews you up and spits you out without batting an eyelash, one is conditioned to accept this brand of pessimism.

My unheralded return was as undramatic as the nation itself. Until I drove through a couple of villages on my way to the city. I realized then that voluntary segregation between woolly-haired blacks and straight-haried blacks was still existent. From my rented car I threw racial integration out the window, and Cosmopolitan became only a magazine for women.

Cont'd on Page 4

Imagine. ONe of our brighT local critics. Wrote. Recently. Government is spying. oPening People's Mails. Tapping; their telePhoNes. Reading their cables. Ect, Etc. But. It's O.K. The Government is a gOod government. First. In the First Class. And we are a democracy. Are we?

You working in a firm for twenty years. You start at the bottom. Now after twenty years you are near to the top. You are second in command in your section. You should be first but you are not, no matter that you are better qualified than the boss. And everybody likes you. Charlie this, and Charlie that. Charlie's a good man. At last, Number One is going. Soon you'll be at the top. Special project. You have to go to Tobago. Things bad and only you can fix them man, Charlie man. So you go with certain small perks to sweeten the journey. Eventually you return. Number One has gone. But there's a new Number One. And you are second man for life.

The best projects can be wrecked by wrong or unthinking sponsorship. One of the happenings at the St. Augustine campus has been the mysterious appearance of pamphlets purporting to originate with a students' party going by the ridiculous name of SMLMRV which, when translated, means the Students Marxist Leninist Maoist Revolutionary Vanguard or some such foolishness. Now one month after MOKO highlighted in its SYMBOLS column the incongruity of calling the new University complex after a however-illustrious late President of the United States of America, the SMLMRV has raised the issue. But we fear that the SMLMRV will kill it: SMLMRV does not exist and can hardly promote the issue it says it wants to promote; but it can discredit it, which is probably why it raised it.

Whenever the SMLMRV's decide to show themselves we have two names to offer. We would like the JFK complex to be called either Chaguaramas or, equally simply and in the spirit of this column, "George."

Take the kinks out of your minds not out of your hair.

Nearly ten years after the formation of the Latin American Free Trade Area the share of Latin American trade in world trade has dropped - from 5% !

C.T.G. !!!

(mainly about what we should not call 'George')

Militarism Latin American Style?

From Page 1

pursuing its behind - the - scenes methods, threatening to cut trade quotas and to suspend currently operating aid-schemes. What the trend of events makes clear is that anti-Castro feeling has by no means assuaged traditional nationalist animus against the United States.

Castroite activity can now be seen as constituting more of a nuisance value, a war of nerves rather than posing a real threat to the "national security" of any of the countries. It has provoked attempts at reform, including dubiously useful external aid programmes such as Kennedy's Alliance for Progress.

National Reform

It has also strengthened in some instances reactionary manoeuvres in the face of national reform movements. The latter instance would seem to have been one of the results of Che Guevara's quixotic adventure in Bolivia.

Guevara's activities in fact strengthened the hand of the current president, General Rene Barrientos who had deposed the legally elected government of Victor Paz Estenssoro and his party the MRN (National Revolutionary Movement). The MRN had carried forward considerable agrarian reform but had lost out as a result of disagreements with the powerful tin workers led by Juan Lechin.

The hullabaloo about Guevara enabled Barrientos to forestall a movement of unity between the MRN, Lechin's miners and the very independent peasant militias, who had been armed by Paz Estenssoro to defend their newly acquired lands.

Popularity

In the meantime, let's hope that old-time dictator Perez Jimenez busily reasserting his popularity in Venezuela, can be kept down. He might claim a 200-mile limit out to sea too. Then what will become of Trinidad (and Tobago) only twenty miles away? One of our deficiencies has been to regard the Guyana-Venezuela border dispute as a matter which is confined to those who countries alone, while we are very noisy about Rhodesia, thousands of miles away. Is it fear or mere incompetence which enables us to continue this charade in our foreign affairs?

PLEASE SEND CHEQUES, AND POSTAL ORDERS, CROSSED TO: "MOKO" NEWSPAPERS C/O BARCLAY'S BANK, TUNAPUNA. ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

MOKO

No 9

A Serious Review

Price 10c up

AIR WHO?

From Page 2

volved, in which each gives the other what it receives - your aircraft can call five times a week in my country and mine can call five times a week at yours.

As for traffic which is entirely within a single nation e.g., Kingston/Montego Bay or Trinidad to Tobago, this is normally excluded from being served by any airline outside that state and is referred to as cabotage traffic. Jamaica is a major deviant from this practice. Because its major tourist resort is in Montego Bay and not in the capital Kingston it allows international airlines to carry passengers between these two points in return for fulfilling the Government's request to stop at both places, an expensive operation.

Colonial Era

Now because most of the Commonwealth Caribbean territories have only recently become separate and independent nations we must go back a bit to the colonial era in order to understand the transition that is now taking place and what the ole talk is all about.

In the colonial era, the British Caribbean islands constituted, for the purposes of air transport agreements, a part of the British nation. This meant, first of all, that all traffic within and between the British islands (and also all traffic from them to Britain) was cabotage and as such the monopoly of British carriers. This monopoly in the Caribbean was in fact exercised by BWIA, then a wholly owned subsidiary of BOAC Secondly traffic between any British Caribbean island and third countries such as the U.S.A. to take the most important example,was shared under the bilateral principle, on a fifty-fifty basis between British airlines and the third country's airlines (in this case a U.S. carrier).

By now you can get the gist of what has been happening as the West Indian territories achieve their independence as separate nations. The market becomes fragmented as each new nation claims its half of the traffic to and from its airports Since only one of them, Trinidad, has any aircraft of its own, in practice this means doing some kind of deal with an airline which can run the services for them until they get their own planes. This is what Jamaica has done and what Barbados appears to be threatening to do.

It is this development which I am moved to condemn in this article and I now outline my analysis and views on the problem.

First of all the market available to any single Commonwealth Caribbean country, under the bilateral principle, cannot support a viable national airline for any of them alone. Further, it is my opinion that even the Eastern Caribbean traffic is not enough to support a modern carrier. Jamaica's traffic, by itself, is also not sufficient to support a real airline. To develop a modern carrier which can do all its own marketing,maintenance and operations with its own West Indian staff, the entire Commonwealth Caribbean's share (50%) of the traffic to and from its territories needs to be pooled and made available to a single carrier which shall act as the multi-nationally owned regional airline.

There are several reasons why I hold these views. Firstly, there is the problem of the structure of the routes available to each nation and/or sub-group, by itself. With modern jet aircraft, one needs very specialised types for particular sector distances; e.g. the Boeing 727 which BWIA has given the trade name Sunjet, is a medium haul aircraft which would have minimum operating costs over sector distances of 1200 to 1500 miles e.g. New York/Jamaica, New York/Antigua and in fact it cannot travel on sector distances much greater than that e.g. it cannot do the Caribbean/London route because it does not have the fuel capacity. Long haul routes of those distances would require long haul aircraft like the Boeing 707, DC8,and VC10. While for short sector distances such as Jamaica/St. Kitts/Antigua, Trinidad/Guyana, one would need short haul aircraft such as the Boeing 737, the BAC111 and so on. We see therefore that each national airline, in order to cater efficiently for each particular kind of route available to it, would have to own at least three different types of aircraft. This would mean each national airline would have to keep three different types of spare parts, engineers etc. It would obviously be a very costly and inefficient operation.

Effects

Secondly, there are the effects created by the dependence on tourism for its market. Not only is there the problem of the seasonal nature of the Industry which is fast disappearing anyway, but also there is an almost complete dependence on the North American market for tourists. If President Johnson, when he requested Americans not to travel to Europe to save U.S. dollars, had included the hemisphere in his appeal, the Caribbean tourist industry and its related services such as air transport would have collapsed overnight.

Cont'd In Next Issue

From Page One

Montreal last year or who has lived in North America for some time) smashed anything and everything in sight as they always do.

The second possibility is that saboteurs among the occupying students (it has been proven that there were administration spies among them) did the damage.

The third possibility is that students and police in the fighting that ensued smashed equipment in order to save themselves.

And finally, it is possible that the occupying students deliberately smashed the equipment.

We would be prepared to believe in the absence of accurate facts, any of these four possibilities.

Mental Agony

Yet, strange it as may seem the fourth possibility is the least likely. The students had occupied the computing centre for twelve days, If they wnated to smash the equipment to fine particles they could have easily done so on the very first day. But instead they had organised a security system to guard the equipment, and they saw to it that no-one handled the computer, They cleared the computing rooms and were about to vacate those rooms on Feb. 11.

Even the administration had to concede that the students were taking better care of the equipment than it had ever done. On this basis, it is highly unlikely that such students would deliberately decide on the twelfth day of the occupation to smash the computers.

It is quite conceivable that as a result of the mental agony and violence to which they were subjected for ten months and the pent-up inner frustration of dealing with a dilly-dallying, shilly-shallying racist administration they were finally driven to disregard pieces of steel and aluminium in attempting to save their skins from the brutality of the riot squad. And if they did who are we to condemn them.

Welcome Mr Michener

The next question is: what to do? We must give solid and militant support to our Black Brothers and Sisters in Canada in their struggle for what is due to them by virtue of their humanity. We must give them financial assistance for the long and serious legal and social struggle that is yet to come.

Money for their defence must be raised. Already the UWI Students Guild has started a Fund. Donations can be sent to the The Treasurer, Students Guild, St. Augustine.

Also we must dedicate ourselves to the fight against racism wherever it arises, and particularly here in Trinidad, where it still exists in several dangerous forms. Our task must be to rid society, most important, our society, of racism at all levels, be it at the social, cultural, industrial, economic or financial level. When we begin that gigantic task, we would have begun a process more far-reaching in its effects than our imagination can at present conceive.

Public Lecture

WEST INDIANS AND AFRICAN NATIONALISM

Professor James R. Hooker

(Author of Black Revolutionary: George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism)

Wednesday, 5th March — 8 p.m. — J.F.K. Buildings, U.W.I.

TRINIDAD REVISITED

From Page 3

When I got into town Port of Spain was wearing a dashiki (afro-jak) and sandals, and was peeping lazily at the world through extremely dark glasses (even at night) while under the sedation of smoked bird seed. This was where Port of Spain had reached at this time on the journey to nowhere. Black awareness pervaded the sultry air like Apollo 8 dominating the lunar sky. But this behaviour was just a put-on. A style, like baggy Saltaire pants at noon on Frederick Street in 1956. And black power expletives flew like sparks from Port of Spain's half-angry throat. Except, like sparks, they shone brightly but briefly, and fell off into the gullible air and died.

Meanwhile, the same privileged upper class and the black bourgeoisie confined themselves to the enclaves, resting comfortably because this put-on sleepy community that fed their bloated accounts with buy-now-take-six-years-to-pay hard earned dollars certainly wasn't Detroit. Nor even Kingston. Could never be! Their future well mapped out, their off-white faces reflected unconsciousness. They probably thought they'd be abdicating from their manhood by rolling with the black punch long overdue. I saw the kind. I met one at TTT during a waiting game in the lobby. Incidentally, TTT at the time seemed to me to be discriminating against job applicants with faces darker than the complexion of the ripe pawpaw fruit. Even their walls betrayed the racist country club atmosphere. They were dotted with pictures of all-white TV and movie stars.

Colorless

Paradoxically, Bill Cosby won so many Emmy (TV's oscar) awards in the U.S. for his role in "I Spy" but he can't make TTT's wall of fame. Nor can Sammy Davis, Diahann Carroll, and a host of other black stars piped into the nation's television sets periodically. It's a case of colorless people refusing to recognize people of color. Identification with these top black performers is necessary with the young,. black community in the nation, especially the ones in the age bracket of elementary school children. One must not militate against this hard, but sensible line of thinking.

During the second day of my visit, I noticed that Port of Spain was still a foolish victim of the Herrera-Perrera disease. A friend of mine, fortunately, or unfortunately in this case, bearing a French name, sought an advertised job through the telephone. As arranged, he appeared at the white establishment punctually, but wearing his black face and hoping to cop this "break in life." But the "dirty honky interviewer" undid his dreams and sent him home to sit by the telephone for a call. It never came, naturally.

Nevertheless, to combat this type of discriminatory attitude, Port of Spain disguised itself in a black power programme that originated all the way in Kano someplace, and blatantly copied by black Americans who had armed themselves with this device to shrink THE MAN. But it doesn't seem to work in Trinidad. The place is already coca-colonialized by the Americans themselves. One Friday night I visited an after hours club in the city and saw a local singer emulating Joe Tex's singing style and mannerism. He probably would be surprised to hear how his real voice sounds. Yankee imperialism is working overtime in the colony. The ubiquitous CIA probably.

Iceberg of Fear

But the situation isn't all that foreboding. The iceberg of fear is melting away, and great men, not everybody, are seizing the opportunity and are beginning to speak out. And although Carmichael may be termed a carbuncle on the behind of the quixotic government, his prolific eloquence has seeped through the curtain of suppression, causing to sprout Carmichaellettes. These black brothers are becoming iconoclastic in re the megalomanic white superiority syndrome. As Eldridge Cleaver once noted, "Any social science book will tell you that if you subject people to an unpleasant environment, you can predict that they'll rebel against it."

This was the scene I saw. Other returnees saw Maracas Bay and a housing project at 29 Port of Spain. But as Maracas Bay rippled ceaselessly and spewed tired bodies on its damp, sandy beach, POS hustled in a Charles Peace costume,still "ketching it." He was on Observatory Street, leaning on Royal's wall, right hand mechanically outstretched. Crossing Nelson Street under the broiling sun with a pants length ready to be palmed off. Waiting calmly for four o'clock outside De Lima's. Hanging out at the racing pool room on Queen Street. Liming noisily at Crossfire corner. And discussing Rap Brown at the "University".

Maybe, Port of Spain will still be hustling in 1976, seven years from now. Maybe not. Conditions change with the political climate. And in a society enslaved, exploited, and suppressed first by white colonialism and now by quasi-white bourgeoisie who took advantage of John Bull's presence, one can never really paint a pretty future, though time will tell.

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